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SIR HENRY SIDNEY'S MEMOIR OF HIS GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

(Continued from vol. III., page 357.)

The ensuing portion of this memoir contains notices of two Irish personages, the accounts of whom, as given by Sidney in the text, and in his letters, afford a curious contrast between a feudal Norman lord, of the English shire of Waterford, and an independent Celtic king, in Irish Ulster. John Le Poer, the queen's baron of Curraghmore, whose ancestors had long served the state as peers of parliament, and acted for centuries as hereditary sheriffs* (enforcers of law) in their own county, was landlord of one of the "best ordered" ^b English districts in Ireland, and had been proud to entertain that viceroy, whom "O'NEILL," when that high officer went expressly to Newry to parley with him, did not even come to meet. Yet the Gaelic toparch, whose real position was merely that of a deposible head of a tribe, was, at the very time, anxiously pressing to be created an earl, and to be made owner in fief of the vast country that belonged to his clan. The text, also, with our notes, gives the real causes of the insurrections of the *Mac an Iarlas*, as the sons of the Earl of Clanricard were called. Their *status* was intermediate between elective succession to temporary chieftaincy, with gavelling rights to the land, under brehon law, (which they adopted,) and primogenitural inheritance of a baronial title and its estate. At the same period that the effects of the security given by the latter system were patent throughout the estates of Lord Curraghmore, every dwelling in Clanricard had been demolished by the two De Burghs, in order to carry on a guerilla warfare against the English. But directly that one of these brothers was secure in his heritable earldom, he effected a vigorous reformation throughout it; and, being able to act as a provident landlord, converted his nomad clansmen into tenants, who gladly "embraced civility," as the phrase of the day expressed a civilisation which implied that they began to build houses and to cultivate the soil under permanent agricultural tenancy. His castle, Loughreagh, became no more an often-contested fortress; but was adorned, to be enjoyed in peace. Sir Henry Sidney, when received there by the old earl, whose sons he styles the "trayterous Clanrickardines," little thought that the widow of his own incomparable son would one day reside in that building as wife of the eldest son's heir. This fourth Lord Clanricard, "a handsome brave Irishman, said to resemble Essex," (wrote the French ambassador in 1602,) having been reluctantly brought forward at court to fill the post of favourite to Elizabeth, vacant by the execution of the nobleman to whom, and also to Sir Philip Sidney, he bore resemblance both in personal beauty and higher qualities, married, strangely enough, "that remarkable woman," Frances Walsingham, heiress of the great minister, and relict of the very

* Waterford Verdict, MS., 1537. S.P.O.
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^b Collins' Sidney's Letters.

remarkable men her third husband resembled. Yet Sir Henry would not have been averse to this unanticipated match, could he have read the ensuing passage in an original letter from Sir John Davyes, written subsequent to a visit to Lord Clanricard:—"I found," says Sir John, "the Earl and his wife, the Countess of Essex, living in very honourable style, and his lady very well contented, and everything as well served as ever I saw in England."

The visit of Sir Philip Sidney to Ireland, under the interesting circumstances related by his father, is unnoticed by either his or Essex's biographers. The young and illustrious knight was at that time affianced to a daughter of the earl; and he hastened over on hearing of her father's mortal illness; but came too late to a death-bed at which his presence had been anxiously desired.

Let us turn to a scene of war, and almost see, in Sidney's lively picture of his beleaguering of Castlemartyr, and the battering his "good fair culvering" gave that rebelliously defended tower, the cannon balls crashing through the lattice windows and roof, and certainly perceive the effect of ordnance on the minds of castellans. Prior to the use of cannon, the fortalices that stud the colonised districts of Ireland were proof against ordinary attacks, for the assailants had no missiles weightier than arrows: but the strongest castles surrendered, when, in the verse of Spenser—

"Three great culverins for batterie bent,
And leveld all against one certeine place,
Did all att once their thundrous rage forth rent,
And made the walls to stagger with astonishment."

Lord Lieutenant Essex, in 1599, tells the queen that the Irish were "neither able to force any castle or house of strength, nor to keep any that they got." Unprovided with cannon, they were powerless to breach walls; and, being without defensive armour, they were insufficiently prepared to carry the smallest pile that was stoutly defended with pike and harquebus. Yet when these arms were in the hands of English assailants, who had plates of steel on their breasts, and stout hearts within them, a tower might be taken without the aid of artillery; at least we have it declared by a great martialist of romance, Captain Dalgetty, who assured the Laird of Ardenvoehr that no castle, however secure in its situation, was to be accounted impregnable; "for," said he, "I protest t'ye, Sir Duncan, that I have known twenty-five men, by the mere surprise and audacity of the attack, win, at point of pike, as strong a hold as this of Ardenvoehr, and put to the sword, captivate, or hold to the ransom, the defenders, being ten times their own number!" It is observable that few castles were erected by the Gaelic Irish until after the invention of gunpowder had rendered such fortresses untenable. Morasses and forests were the national strongholds, until a faint usage of hereditary succession in the line of some chieftains induced them to fortify for themselves and their descendants. A Connaught lord, who, in the fourteenth century, constructed a fair castle, "the like of which," a cotemporary Gaelic writer stated, "had not been erected by any sub-chief in Erin," evidently was encouraged to build, because he was "the firmest in his patrimony."^c But no chief-

^c Hy-Many, p. 141.

taincy was a patrimony; nor was land strictly so, being either appurtenant to the chieftain's office, or liable to be allotted in gavel to others, and it was occupied in common by septs. The instability of Gaelic tenure was, as is well known, the vital defect to which almost all the wars, rebellions, and other historic ills of Ireland are to be traced. As the change from Brehon customs to English law was undertaken by Sir Henry Sidney at the period of the text, as appears by passages in his despatches, we may now briefly notice the extreme difficulty of effecting this great alteration, which is illustrated in the instances of the Clanricardines, O'Neill, and Mac William Eighter, mentioned in this portion of the memoir. In 1569, Sidney had caused an act to be passed, whereby, in order to abolish chieftainships and "settle the seigniories incident to them in a course of inheritance," he was authorised to accept from the ruling chiefs formal surrenders of their Gaelic rights, and to grant them estates to hold by English tenure. From an early period after the invasion, very many chieftains had naturally exhibited the strongest disposition to become barons of the crown, in order that their territories might be inherited by their descendants. But their own laws unhappily hindered their admission to the council and parliament of a country of which the history, during the four centuries they were excluded, would have been very different from the troubled annals those barbarous ages present, had the brehon laws not acted as the barrier that prevented the Irish from uniting with the English. The crown was, of course, always ready to accept the Gaelic people as subjects. But as clansmen had gavelling claims to property, and as communism, with the right of choosing a ruler, had been the law of the land for a thousand years, those men were at once justly hostile to their chief, if he attempted to found rights for himself upon Saxon usages. The opposition modern landlords meet with, when discountenancing subdivision and common holdings, must be slight compared to a clan in arms against their deposible head, whenever he sought to absorb their land, and transmit it to the first-born of his posterity for ever; compelling men as free and noble as himself to become his serfs, as if he were one of those haughty foreigners by whom the fairest lands in Ireland were usurped. As the Scottish proverb declares,—stronger than the chief are the vassals; few, therefore, of the Irish toparchs succeeded in converting their comparatively ephemeral station into a landed inheritance until the close of the sixteenth century, when they received the support of the English government. The very name of that which it was intended to make heritable, viz., "seigniories"—showed the real nature of the sole right of a chieftain, which, so far from being an heritage, was merely the reciepience of certain renderings due to him from his clan as their *senior* elect:—for the original title to power over a tribe was but that of being elder of the fraternity—probably in tradition of the obedience commanded to be given to the eldest of the sons of Adam. Some submission, but no exclusive right, in this manner, was given to primogeniture among the Gaels. Thus the younger "Clanricardine," when offering the chieftaincy to his brother, undertook to be "as obedient to him as a junior should be to a senior;"^d agreeably to tanistic law, by which the elder was the ruler, like the *Seigneur* of Gaulish people, the *Ealdermann* of German

^d Four Masters, edited by O'Donovan, p. 1745.

races, and the *Grand Signior* of Asiatic tribes. In traditional pursuance of these most antique patriarchal observances, so lately as 1593, Sir Murrough O'Flaherty, "*of the battle-axes*," (who had been promised a peerage, and who, although without any inheritance beyond a portion in the country, had obtained, as chief of his nation, a sweeping patent grant of the territory,) when making his will ordered his estate to be divided between all his sons, but appointed "the elder his principal heir and chief," (wrote he,) "of and over my children, name, kindred, and country." * But as it had become the custom by tanistry that the chief should be the *maximus senex* of his name, a son of one Donell O'Flaherty, "of the wars," usurped the power by strong hand; the mode, truly, by which he "of the battle-axes" had won supremacy, as he himself declared to his counsel when questioned as to title deeds:—"Why man!" exclaimed he, "I got the land by the sword! what title should I say else?" That which one sword had gained, another might take away; so that many a promised peerage was never conferred on men whose station was thus insecure, and would have been rendered much more so, had they excited the jealousy of their countrymen by obtaining English titles. It might happen that a chieftain invested with an earldom one year would be penniless and powerless the next. Few of the chiefs and tanists who were first raised to rank enjoyed it long; most of them having fallen by the hands of their enraged kinsmen. As Sidney demonstrated to the Connacians, "the unstable possession of their lands, whereupon grew their wars, was the verie root and origin of their ruin." † He found them, and indeed most chiefs in all parts of Ireland, eager to hold their territories as hereditary fiefs. The tanists and leading clansmen were, however, so vehemently opposed to the projected grants of their countries to the ruling "captains," that some of the latter did not dare accept such patents: but proposed, as a compromise, to surrender their territories formally, and then take them of the crown, "to hold according to the custom of the country," ‡ in order that the right of their tanists to succeed them should not be defeated. "Wherever," observed Sidney, "there are many pretenders and collateral competitors, if the land should" be granted to "descend by English tenure to the eldest child, the strife among the competitors would never be stint so long as any were alive!" As feudal grants would, in these cases, produce the very reverse of peaceful security, (the effect intended,) he prudently advised that fiefs should only be created in favour of such chiefs whose pretensions were uncontested by many rivals, and whose sons were able and potent men; all debate, remarked he, would then be extinguished. Before chieftains could be made peers of state, it was, of course, a *sine quâ non* that they should possess sufficient heritable estates to support the dignity. Their insecure hold of land not only precluded them from being admitted to take part with the Anglo-Irish barons in high civilised duties, but large and fertile districts were sparsely occupied and almost desolate by reason of the general insecurity. While the best inclined were almost powerless for good as lords of the land, the fierce and warlike, whose sole property consisted of flocks and herds, augmented it by becoming *prædones terræ*, as they are styled by Davyes, the attorney-general; who, however, as a Celtic Welshman, and from his legal knowledge, probably knew well that the philosophic reason why the

West Connaught, 387, 395-9.

† Do. 403.

‡ State Paper Office, 1 Aug. 1589.

§ Collins, I. 103.

Irish soil lay waste was, that fixity of tenure could not be given by chieftains to the *cultores terræ*. Sidney distinctly traced effect to cause in stating that Iveagh, in the county of Down, (the territory governed by Sir Hugh Magennis, who was notable for "loyaltie and cyvillitie,") was deficient in inhabitants, and but partly cultivated, "because," (wrote Sir Henry,) "he is not sure of it by any certain estate;"¹ and the viceroy therefore promised him a patent to hold it as a fief, and strongly recommended him to the queen for elevation to the rank of a baron, an honour the opposition of his clansmen perhaps prevented from being conferred. The same landlessness that excluded the Celtic kings from admission to English laws and rank, prevented the Norman De Burghs, after they had suffered their territory to be subdivided in course of gavel, from reverting to feudal tenure and loyalty. In 1579 Mac William obtained a promise of being created an earl:² yet the title, like his chieftaincy, was only to last during his life: his son, however, was to receive a patent as a baron in tail male, but these promises were never fulfilled; one reason being that neither father nor son had any certain estate in land, as appears by the proviso that left it doubtful how they were to obtain "estates accordingly, of so much as is their own, with a *salvo jure* to all others that have right." Besides this difficulty, his son was so far from succeeding him in the seigniorialty he himself had wrested from Sir Richard "in iron,"—and of which a firm hold formed their claim to a peerage,—that, on his decease, the mailed warrior "installed himself as chief;"³ and, before 1584, another competitor, Sir Richard Bourke, of Newton, who was in the English interest, was chieftain; and, as such, received more favour than the discarded baron expectant, by obtaining a promise of a patent grant of the largest share of the clan territory. This new lord was most willing that the chieftainship should be extinguished. The whole shire of Mayo was then set out in allotments for him, his rivals, and other claimants. But the extinction of the valuable seigniorial title of "Mac William," to which the best born and bravest of the clan looked forward to succeed, and the proposed grants, to some of the rivals, of estates of various extent yet all comparatively smaller than his apportionment, were clan questions that naturally excited the bitterest jealousy. That the Anglicised chieftain who was promoting these innovations should hand down to his posterity rich manors, that were an appanage of an office, was regarded with no slight "envy" by his tanist and all competitors; some of whom declared they were "descended from Mac Williams of greater fame and reputation" than his ancestors: and each argued that he had a better claim to the superlative estate, which the accident of holding the chieftaincy was about to confer on its occupier. The quarrel was so menacing, that the governor of the province referred the questions as to the allotments and the abolition of the chieftaincy to the decision of the viceroy; and they were attempted to be settled by grants to five principal rivals,⁴ accompanied by a prohibition from assuming the title of chief for the future. The conversion of the senior clansmen into landlords had made it necessary to arrange a commutation of the small seigniorial dues to which they were entitled from their septs, and the uncertain renderings which they exacted, into fixed rent from land. Government commissioners, first appointed by Sir Henry Sidney, in the year of the text, had

¹ Collins, I. 76.² West Connaught.³ F. M.⁴ West C.

endeavoured to effect this "composition," which indeed was the very basis of change from Brehon to English law; but as the ancient usages and interests of the free occupiers of the land were, of course, strongly adverse to this radical alteration, it is not surprising that it was strenuously resisted by a race of clansmen in whom Norman and Celtic blood were combined. The Bourkes of Mayo are described in a despatch of this time, as men "noble in mind, and of good courage;" and by no Celtic tribe was the change to Saxon institutions opposed with such determined insurrections and continued disturbances. "In their mindes," wrote Sir Henry Dockwra, "did sticke the abolishing and taking away their Mac William, with their oulde Irish customs and cuttings;" and Sir Richard Bingham declared that the true cause for which the Connaught leaders raised rebellions was the restoration of tanistry, by which patent grants would become waste parchment, and they themselves chieftains. The most formidable outbreak, in which the Bourkes and O'Flahertys, who were considered "the greatest nation, and possessing the strongest country, of any people of Ireland,"^a joined with the O'Rourke and the O'Conors, forming a league of the "proudest, wildest, and fiercest" clans, occurred when the wrecks of the Armada gave them cannon, munitions of war, and the aid of a band of Spaniards. Previous to their revolt, the Bourkes, being without a chief, resolved that whoever committed the most unpardonable offence against the state should be their leader; but, subsequently, proceeding in orderly manner, their "gentlemen swordsmen," numbering some thousands, assembled, proclaimed that they had re-established brehon law, and then forwarded a demand to the President of Connaught "TO HAVE A MAC WILLIAM!" Bingham returned answer that the only officer they should have over them was an English sheriff, who, with the aid of soldiery, would enforce the law. Their petition rejected, they formally inaugurated "the Blind Abbot," the rod of office being given him "with all the accustomed ceremonies;"^b—an election his seniority as brother of the late popular Sir Richard "in iron" must have decided, rather than any military qualities. Whatever unanimity there may have been as to his nomination, the past and subsequent conflicts—among rivals for a chieftaincy that appears to have been more factiously contested for than any other in Ireland—their intestine war, and its barbarising effects, which increased down to an age when kingdoms blessed with sound laws were rapidly advancing in civilisation—show that it was high time for this and all other Irish kingships to be abolished by a stronger power than the strong hand by which they were generally assumed. The remarkable effect of institutions in moulding various races to the same characteristics is somewhat apparent in the foregoing passages, and in our notes giving an account of the succession to the title of Mac William Eighter. Under the operation of laws that made accession to what men most covet,—wealth, distinction, and power,—depend on choice among kinsmen, who often were at once rivals and electors, the descendants of the Norman De Burgh and the Saxon Gerald became more Irish than the Irish themselves; for the steadfastness with which, (agreeably with their ethnologic characteristic,) they pursued their end—the lust of rule—was rendered more vehement by the hot blood of their mixed descent. "Lively," says an Irish proverb, "are kinsmen, when in battle against each other!"

^a L. D. to Walsingham, 1580.

^b S. P. O.

CONTINUATION OF MEMOIR.

Thither came to me O'Carroll and Mackoglan, and all three of them wayted on me to the good town of Kilkenny, where I remayned I suppose between fifteen and twenty dayes, houlding in that tyme a royall session, in which were endicted, arrayned, condemned, and executed, above sixty persons, and many of them the stoutest of the Butlers' gallowglas, and few of them but for their rebellion; besides a great many hanged by martiall lawe. The session fynished I came to Laghlyn Bridge, where I had before me the principall gentlemen of the county of Washford, and the chief-taynes of the three septs or lynages of the Cavanaghes, the O'Moroghes, and the Kenshelaghies; and for all matters as well to kepe peace as resist warre, I took such orders as I listed, and they allowed them, and obeyed. There (with some cunning) I got to come to me (without protection or other assurance) two brothers, dangerous men, called Kaer mac Kedo O'Moore, and Lysagh mac Kedo O'Moore, sonnes of Kedo, sometyme captain of Leysh, and died in rebellion. Lysagh I had tried in Carlogh for offences done in that county, and there hanged. Kaer I carried with me to Dublin, where he was tried upon an enditement of treason, and then hanged, drawn, and quartered. In this jorney I did as good service as ever I did in any peaceable progresse.

Thus lying at Dublin, Sir Edmond Butler, being prisoner in the castle, hearing that the Earl his brother was gone into England, having too much libertie, wearing no irons, nor locked up in any chamber, but had leave to use the walk on the wall, onely garded with two of my men, whom I thought to have bene more vigilant then I found them; practised, by a little boy whom they allowed him, to have a small corde, I am sure not so bigg as my little finger; found a tyme when I was returned from taking pleasure abroad in the fields in an evening about Alhallontide; slipped by the same corde over the castle wall of Dublin, a wall I am sure as high or higher than any about the Tower of London; yet erre he came to the ground by three fathom, the cord broke, and he with the fall sore brused, leaving behind one of his mythens which he had prepared to slip down the corde, and much blood. Hot sute was made after him, and, as he himself confessed, he heard the trampling of their horses, and their speeches, whom I sent to recover him if they could; but he went on in the dark of the night till he came to the bridge of the water of Dodder, a myle and-a-half distant from the castle of Dublin, and there, what mad toy soever took him in the head I cannot tell, he went into the ryver, and there stood (as he constantly after affirmed) the most part of that could and long night in the water up to the chin. From thence he crept away, and, by the help of Hugh mac Shane's children he was conducted into the county of Kilkenny, and in the confynes of the

same was secured and closely kept; for, though I did the best I could, I never could gett him during that my deputation. By this may appere the guiltynesse of his conscience, and my meke measuring of justice to him, and his brother Piers, for before his escape I had enlarged Piers. But, good Sir, what case had I been in, if he had broken his neck, or otherwise killed himself in that mad and desperate adventure? I think I should hardly have made my very frendes to have believed otherwise than that I had done it, or caused it to be done, and that the cord lay there but for a colour. He hath synce told me, and said it likewise to others, that it was written to him often out of England, and tould him in the castle, that undoubtedlie I would kill him.

Now approached the parliament, in which what acts were made may appere and be extant in the printed booke of Statutes. Of which prynting I was the first auctor, I am sure to the benefitt of the subjects of that land.

In which parliament were acts made I knowe to the advantage of the crowne, country, and people, invented and sett down by myself; namely the attainder of that arch-rebel, Shane O'Neill, geaving to her highnes and her successors for ever, all his landes and seignories in fee symple, Clandeboy, &c. Also the lands of the late rebels the Butlers, and Quemberford's lands, and I suppose others of the county of Kilkenny, and others as I think in that county or the county of Tipperary. Likewise was given in that parliament to her majesty and successors the lands of the White Knight, and the Knight of the Valley, and they attainted with others as far as I remember. Hereby (as I take it) Her Majesty won both honour, land, and revenue; for greedily were those lands sought for all the while I was there: and what hope the Earl of Essex had, taking but a small part of the same so given her by that parliament, his enterprise and proceedings manifested. And surely feasible it was to have done good of it, with lesser charge than he spent about.

In the same parliament, there was an act made that no linnen or woollen yarn should be transported out of that realm unwrought; which, I am sure, would have been the beneficialest act for that country that ever was made, for the suppression of idleness and profit of the people, with gayne by custom to the Queen. For while it stood uninterrupted (which was but a few moneths) there were sett up above 100 loomes of the one kind and the other, and the cloth made there sould at Bristoll and other places. I caused to plant and inhabit there about fourtie famelies of the reformed churches of the Low Countries, flying thence for religion sake, in one ruinous town called Swords: and truly (Sir) it would have done any man good to have seen how diligently they wrought, how they re-edified the quite spoiled ould castell of the same town, and repayred almost all the same, and how godlie and cleanly they, their wiefs, and children, lived. They made diaper and tickes for beddes, and other good stuf for man's use; as excellent good lether of deer skynnes, goate and shepe fells, as is made in Southwark.

This good act did Sir William Gerrard (then Lord Chancellor of Ireland,) utterly overthrowe by obtaining a license of Her Majesty to transport a number of packes of yarne unwrought; for I had by the same act restrayned myself and successors for ever to graunt any like license, leaving it

always in the power of the Sovereign, as reason was, to do their pleasures. The license was counted worth fyve thousand marks, what he made of it I cannot tell; sued for, it was, without my privitie, and granted without my counsaill.

One other act I devised, which was the imposition of a custom to be paid for wyne, to be discharged within that realm; the lymiting but sixteen cities and towns in the same realm to have shippes with wyne unladen in, as by the Act in the printed book may appeare, I being the first that caused the lawes of that realm to be put in print.

This custom is the readiest revenue that Her Majesty hath in all Ireland, and for so moch the best of any one nature of rents casuall: for I am credible advertised that synce the making of that statute, yerely hath been answered to Her Majesty's Treasurer £2,000 sterling. And I upon my creditte affyrme unto you, that I might have £2,000 in readie gould to have been silent in the cause, not to have stayed the giving of the royall assent to it, when it had passed by voyce of the two houses, but onely that I would not have husbanded the cause by the meanes I could with the principall in creditte of either house.

During this session and about the beginning of the same, came to me the Earl of Clancare, from the uttermost part of Munster to Dublin, and there most humbly confessed his rebellion, alledging that Sir Edmond Butler was the cause thereof, in that he reported to him, those foolish and frivolous speeches of the Earl of Leycester and me, as is before mentioned, and with teares seemed to be sorie for the same; and in most lowlie manner that might be devised, he submitted himself, goods, lands, and lief, to Her Majesty, protesting he was not worthie to enjoy any of them, but had most shamefully forfeited them all, in that he had offended Her Majesty in so high a degree of treason, at whose hands he had received such degree and nobilitation. And when he had uttered his mynd on this manner in English in farre other and better termes than I thought he could, for that he sawe many in the chamber in Irish mantells, whereof indeed there were some of right good accompt, he desired that he might reiterate there his former speeches in the Irish tongue, which he did with so good words and gesture, as they that understood him and were of judgment wondered at it. And being bidd by me to stand, (he still kneeling all this while) he said he would not, nor was not worthie to kneel upon any ground of Her Majesty's, but rather to make his submission lying prostrate in the vilest dunghill in his own countrey, and besought me that he might do the like which he had done there (being the chamber of the Queen's presence) in the Cathedral Church of that city, which the morrow afterwards he did in forme or better than he had done before, in the presence of the best then thereabouts, and of a multitude of others. This act I left registered, and I think remayneth of recorde.

Towards the end of this parliament came the oxe, I should say earl, of Thomond, having found that he could fynd nothing in France, but according to his worth suffered to lyve there without releif. He made such meane to the then lord ambassador in France, as he obtayned of her Majesty over great grace, and most gracious letters to me, with some reference to use my discretion; which

my discretion was that he should, as well in the chamber of her presence in the castle of Dublin as in the high Church of Dublin, called Christ Church, submitt himself as a rebell and traytor; and resigne into her highnes' hands all his lands, castles, and seignories, which he did, and as it seemed penitently. As I had him before in prison so I kept him still, and his castles warded by my men, whom he victualled, namely Bonratty, Clare, and Clonrawd. This as the other I caused, and I think so remaineth recorded.

Well, Sir, by this you may perceive that during and among my almost continuall marciall garboylles, I was not altogether sluggish in polletique and profitable busyness, and brought them to some perfect and established end. But notwithstanding all this, the Earl of Ormond (my professed foe) sometyme with clamour, but oftner with whispering, did bitterly backbite me; saying that his brethren were dryven by my cruelty to rebell, and that he nor his could never have any justice of me, nor any constituted by me in auctority to mynister justice. And according to his pikent speeches I had sower letters, which in trouth to me were torteous, for (*oi me*) when my designs were reasonable, my proceedings paynfull, and my successe and the event both profitable and honourable, what should I or can I say more but *miserere nobis Domine*.

Thus tired with toyle of mynd and bodie in that cursed country, I once agayne procured and obtained my revocation from the same, and came to the Courte; where, after more cold acceptation than I hoped for, it was of some often and in many places said, as I before recited, that the Butler's war was made by my malice borne to them, and that ells there was little or nothing done. *Melius merui.*

Now (Sir), I know not by what destiny, but ill inough I am sure for me, nor how things went and were governed when I was from thence, but I was not at home many monethes unsent for, for consultation sake for the affayres of that country, and caused to attend at the Court, and in that sort oftentimes to my great charge, without any allowance; for there was some in great auctority that had no will that I should go thither; and so upon everie letter of *omnia bene*, I was dismissed without reward: and, being thus wearied with often sending for to no purpose, I resolved to goe thither agayne; the place, I protest, before God, which I cursed, hated, and detested, and yet confesse with supposition, that I could do that which had not been done before, and in great hope hitt where others had missed; and so eftsones the third time I toke upon me that thanklesse charge, and so taking my leave of Her Majesty, kissing her sacred handes with most gracious and comfortable wordes, departed from her at Dudley castell, passed the seas, and arrived the XIII. of September, 1575, as nere the city of Dublin as I could saulfly; for at that tyme the city was greevously infected, and so was the English Pale round about the same on everye side, with the contagion of the pestilence, whereof there died many daylie.

I went to Tredath, [Drogheda] and, as sone as I could, received the sword of the then Deputy; and taking some order for the polletique and peaceable government of the English Pale, and after conference had with the Earl of Essex, for the best possession I could put him in of his country

of Farney, parcell of the attainted landes late remembred, and given him by Her Majesty, I journeyed to Carregfergus with a competent company of the garrison, all sorts of warlike men as well landlords as followers of that tract attending upon me; from whence (after a few days sojournance) I went through Clandeboy, the Glynnnes, and into the Rowte. There had I interparlance by commissioners with the Scott Sorley-boy,⁸⁵ then grown a strong man, proud and stubborn; for, not two days after myne arrival, and before I had received the sword, he had defeated a company of foot-men left there as parcel of the Earl of Essex's regiment, led by captain John Norreys, but he was not at the defeate, but in the English Pale; his men were commanded by a lieutenant of his, a certeyne Italian, who, his company said, rann full fowllie away.

And for that I was not in very good case to make war with the Scott at that time, and finding him desirous of peace, and largely offering to hould the Glynnnes and Rowte⁸⁶ of the Quene by rent and service; and for that I was not well assured of Turlo Lenough, who was then also grown proud and strong; I was content for the time to temporize with the Scott, and made as sure covenants as I could with him for observation of the peace, which in trouth he observed as long as I was there, suffering anything that was bred or made under his rule to come and be sould at Carregfargus, (God knoweth at easie prices,) and would buy such things as he needed in the same town, and paye troulie for it.⁸⁷

He humblie and very earnestlie desired to have agayne the Island of Raghlyns,⁸⁸ which his ancestors had occupied seven or eight score years before, and claymeth it as their rightful enheritaunce; wherein the Earl of Essex had in the tyme of his *General Enterprize for Ulster*,⁸⁹ planted a garrison, and indeed to good purpose, that enterprize proceeding,—but it ceassing, to none at all but a great charge, needlesse and loste: and therefore I removed the soldiers and returned to Carregfargus; where, after I had taken order as well with the garrison as the country, the one very willing to serve the other with all kind of victual at very low prices, and the other very willing to defend the countrymen and keep good order among them; in very good order I left the town. And then intending to goe to Dublin, where by that time the plague was somewhat ceased; but by the time I came to the Newry, (Sir Nicholas Bagenal's house) Turlo Lenough⁹⁰ sent a very trustie agent of his to me, with letters of great credence, desiring me that I would come to Armagh where he and his wief would not fayle to mete.

Albeit I moch disdayned to turn my foot backward, and having a great mynd southward, for that I heard the Earl of Desmond was growen somewhat insolent, and like enough to play such parts as synce he did, I thought good to graunt Turlo's request, and went to Armagh, where he and the ladie his wife gave me reverent meeting, ratifying the former peace made by me in the other tyme of my government, saving for the service of MacGuire, which, as it appeared, the earl of Essex in the tyme of his generalship had given him. He desired to be nobilitated by the title of an Earl, and to hould his lands of the Queen by rent and service.

The Scotts⁹¹ sent their agents to me, craving that they myght enjoy the land they occupied, and to

yeld rent and service for it. And the ladie, Turlo's wief, as earnestlie sueing that she myght have the same lands assured to her children, which she had by James MacConnell, Sorley's eldest brother, and would give more for it than he would.

The Mackgwillims of the Route came also to me, whom I settled in their country.

Thus leaving all things in the North in good quiet, and yet left such a pick between Turlo and Sorley as within one month after, Turlo (with the aid of some Englishmen whom I suffered him to hire) killed a great number of the best of Sorley's men, and his best and eldest sonne, to the great weakning of the Scotts; I journeyed towards Dublin, doing justice in the counties of Louth and Meath. From Dublin I wrote of my proceeding with Turlo and the Scotts; for Turlo he was thought too base to receive such nobilitation; for the Scotts it was deemed too dangerous a course to grant them plantation in Ireland; but yet I thank God I satisfied them, and kept that country in quiet as long as I taried there.

And now albeit it was in the depe of wynter, I travailed towards Corke, keeping sessions in the Counties of Kildare, Carlo, King's county and Queen's county, and took order with the Baron of Upper Ossory, O'Caroll,⁹² Mac Coghlan, O'Moloy, Macgoghigan, and Shenogh, in English called the Foxe. With O'Magher and O'Dwyer I might not deale, for that they were of the county palatine of the Earl of Ormond, in truth the very gall or rather poyson of all Munster.⁹³

From thence I went to Waterford, and sojourned there some dayes. [He writes from thence, 16th December, 1575, *Sydney Papers*, I. 85.] Hither came to me the Lord Poer⁹⁴ and Sir James Fitzgarrett, then lord of the Desies, his brother the Viscount of the same being dead. The lord Poer convited me to his house, and there made me great and civell chere. These two noblemen with many other principall gentlemen of that county attended upon me from Waterford through that county, where I had constituted an Englishman to be sherief, who had his termes and courts as well kept and observed or better than in the English Pale.

I went to Dungarvon, where then ruled the renowned soldier, Harrie Davells,⁹⁵ so exceedingly well as he is worthie imortall good report. There I laye some nights and tooke order for the fortifying of the town, and repaying the castells, as well by hightning the walls and flanking the same as strengthning their gates. Somewhat I gave them, but for every penny that I gave them they spent a shilling, which hath done good syns as well appeareth, for it hath held itself unhurted, whereas, synce my coming away, Yoghill, being a farre stronger town then it was, and more populous, hath been twice burned and spoyled. Whither from thence I went, being at that tyme a good and a ritch towne, and so to Lismore, and Lysfynen, where at that time dwelt Sir John of Desmond, then in all appearance a good and a loyal subject; who with the gentlemen and horsemen from that part of the county of Corke, attended me from his house, where he made me exceeding good chere, untill I came to the cite of Corke, I think three or four days from Christmas, and there laye till it was Candlemas.

By the waye I should tell you how I was entertained at the Viscount Barry's house, called

Barry's Court, where I lay three or four nights so exceedingly well as it passed expectation; the people of the cittie said there never was such a Christmas kept in the same; for there was with me the Earl of Desmond, the Earl of Clancare, the Viscount Barry, the Viscount Roche, Macarte Reagh, Sir Cormok Mack Tege, then Sheriff of the county of Corke, and then and yet Lord of Muskry; the lord baron Fitzmaurice of Kerry; the Lord Courey; Condon, but truly written Canton,⁹⁶ a great landlord in that country; and all their ladies and wiefs, and all the captaines and principall gentlemen of the Mackswynes,⁹⁷ captains of galloglas, who are a stronge lyniage, and counted manfull men in the country; with the rest of the petty lordes before written of in the tyme of my first deputation.

Fynally there came to me such a number of noblemen, principall gentlemen, horsemen and galloglas, as the cittie could not hold them, so as I might have thought myself rather in the city and county of York, than in the city and county of Cork.

I found such humbleness in them and willingness to become English, and accordingly to lyve under English lawe, and by the same to be defended, each weaker from his stronger neighbour, as I did ask nothing but it was granted; insomuch as they ycalded to beare soldiers as well lying in their owne countrys, as to delyver food for horse and man, being placed elsewhere out of their own countreys; which they bare and obeyed while I was there, and I do not fear but they do so still, saving such as have burst into actual rebellion.

During my abode in that cittie, I heard that the Seneschal of Imokilly, a Garrandyne by race, of the syrname of Clangibbon, a capitall rebell, had bravely boasted that he would keep his strong castle of Ballymartyr against me; and accordinglye had well stuffed and furnished it with bases and small shott, men, munition, and victuall. I thought not good to leave it unattempted, nor attempting it unwon, and for that I would work the surer; besides my fielde peaces before mentioned, I carried thither by sea a good fair culvering, with powder and bullet good store; and there came with me, of the townsmen of Cork, 150 or 200 well appointed and arrayed men. I approached the castle, being very high and strong, and planted my artillery as nere as I could, and lyvely my men went to work, which cost some good ones of them their lyves, for the rebels shot freshly out of the castle both bases and small shott, where the stout and fast canonyre, ould Thomas Eliott, now a sueter at the courte, was stricked through the thigh. The culvering made such bounsing at the walles, the sacre and mynions such rattling at the roof and casework, as the rebels were so affrayed that in the night, my watch being negligent, they stole away, leaving the house, as afore is written, well victualled. There I left a ward, which contynued long after; and went back again to Cork.

From thence I went to the Viscount Roche's, and there was passingly entertained; and from thence to the town of Kilmallock, being in the county of Limerick, all the way being attended upon by the most or at leste by the principal and best of the forenamed personages. I remayned in Kilmallock two or three dayes, and thither came to me all the best and principallest gentlemen of that

side of the county of Limerick, who attended me unto the same cittie; there I remained I think a weeke, found great obedience and willingness to do anything that I would have done; they submitted themselves to any taxation for bearing of soldiers that I would impose upon them.

Thither came to me all the cheefest gentlemen of the other side of that county, and of Kerry and Conylough, and the freholders of the Knight of the Valley's country, the name of which I do not now remember. Likewise there came three or four Bushops of the provinces of Cashel and Thewanne, [Thomond?] which bushops (albeit they were Papists) submitted themselves unto the queen's majesty, and unto me her deputy, acknowledging that they held all their temporall patrymony of the queen's majesty, and desired humbly that they might (by her highnes) be inducted into their ecclesiasticall prelacie. Here was some hould between the Bushopps and me, too long to be recited; for they stood still upon *Salvo suo ordine*, &c., and I of the queen's absolute auctoritie.

I at that time took order for the re-cdefying of the long ruyned castle of the same cittie, which (before I left the lande) was in effect finished; what hath been done on it since, I wott not.

This done, I went (27th February, 1575-6) into Thomond, where the earl mett me, albeit he had come to me unto the cittie of Limerick before, and reverently and in good sort used and enter-tayned me, for as before is written, I had counterpoysed his force with his owne kynsfolkes before-named.⁹⁸ I there subdued a rebellious race of the syrname of the earl, the O'Breens; their captains were called the Bushop's sonnes,⁹⁹ and indeede the bastards they were of a bushop of Kilallow, which bushop was sonne to an O'Breene, captain of Thomond. Of this wicked generation some I killed, some I hanged by order of lawe, but all I subdued; and so leaving that country in quiet, which is a great one, and by me made a county of the name of the county of Clare, I went out of the same into O'Siagnes' country, which I found all in garboyle and violent warres. The captain¹⁰⁰ whereof (as I thought he ought to be, his brother being dead, and having before served my Lord of Leycester) I settled in his due roome, and quieted all the rest; and so went to the good town of Galloway; in the way to which mett me the Earl of Clanrickard,¹⁰¹ myne old acquayntance, in very reverent manner, and attended me to Galloway, where I remained I wott not how many dayes, but in that tyme I had all the potentates of Conaght, or at the least as many as I would came to me, with most humble submission; namely, Mack William Eughter of English race, and by syrname Borough, there called Burke, but in Latyn anciently and modernly written De Burgo;¹⁰² and with him a number of pettie landlords of sondry syrnames, the most English, and many of his own syrname.

There came to me also Mack-eorish, of English syrname Brymicham; Mack-Jordan, of English syrname De Exeter; Mackostilogh, do. do. De Angulo or Nangle; Mackeviley, do. do. Staunton; MackMorris, do. do. Prendergast,—and should before have remembered MackPhilippin, by English syrname a Burke, and of English race. All these submitted and seemed desirous to lyve in loyaltie, and under the lawes and subjection of the crown of England, detesting and abhorring their degeneration and inveterate barbaritie.

The earl of Clanrickard, as he said, caused his two most badd and rebellious sonnes, Ulike and John, to come to me, with humble submission ; whom I would to God I had then hanged, but their submission (with over much clemencie) I accepted. Albeit I committed them, and in the chief church of the town had a sermon made of them and their wickedness, by a countryman of their own called Lynch, sometime a frier in Greenwich, but a reformed man, a good devyne and preacher in the three tonges, Irish, English, and Latin. The young men publicquely in the church I rebuked very sharply, and they as humbly submitted, and again to prison I committed them. And having settled every thing in Galloway, in effect as I would have it, I departed from thence, dismissing Mack-William Euter and the forenamed sober barons.

I should have remembered that O'Donnell came thither to me, with great show of curtesy and kyndness to me, and likewise O'Connor Sligo, who faithfully promised their perseverance in loyalte, which they have for ought that I know eversyns performed. And so travelling toward Alone, I was convited by the Earl of Clanrickard to his house of Balie Logh Reogh, still leading with me his two sonnes as prisoners in my marshall's ward. In his house he did most honourably entertain me, and attended upon me till I came to Alone, where I used him as familiarly and frendly as I could, telling him with as good and loving speech as I was able to utter (for of very ould acquayntance we were,) what love I bore him, and that if he would take upon him the government of Conaght, and supresse the most vile and tyrannical extortion of coyne and lyverye, I would make him governor under the deputie of that province. He couldly thanked me ; accept it he would not, his reasons for which are not worth the writing. His sonnes I still led with me, captyves upon their oath and his promise that they should never passe the ryver of Shenan, nor come into Conaght without me special license in writing ; and thus in frendly maner we departed, I to Dublin with his two sons prisoners, and he home with his frends and followers, where I used John at my table frendly, and Ulike as my well looked on servant, and at last licensed them to lyve with their friends, so as they exceeded not their forenamed and appointed bounds.

I had not been longe at Dublin but I heard of some disorders of the Cavanaghs and some of the good county of Washford, unto which I addressed myself, and having gone one days' jorney southward towards them, I was crediblie advertised of the revoulte of the two young Clanrickardynes before named, albeit they were mortall enemies, though brethren, yet in *odium tertie nempe*, the Queen and English government, they connived and joined in actual rebellion ; shaking off and cutting in pieces their English garments upon the ryver of Shenan, saying that those should be their pledge for their remaining by east Shenan.

The first memorable act that they, or one of them at least, did, which I am sure was John, was that they or he went to Balieanrhie, a very ancient English town, in English "the kings town," a great town, and by their English ancestors founded, amplified, and with bloodie battails defended against the Irishrie. In this town was the sepulture of their forefathers, and the naturall mother of the same John buried ; the chief church of which town they most violently burned ; and being

told and besought that he would spare the burning of the church where his mother's bones lay, he blasphemously swore, that if she were alyve and in it, he would burn both the church and her too, rather than any English churle should enhabit or fortifye there. I had there some workmen, whom they most cruelly killed; and indeed I had begun some fortifications there, but finish it I did not; worthie the fynishing it is, if the reformation of Ireland be worth the consideration.

Thus advertized I diverted my course from the south into the west, and that with such expedition as I was there before they looked for me, and brake off some of their intended enterprise. I passed the river of Shenan, I went to the Earl of Clanrickard's chief house beforenamed, I broke it, and took him, he protesting ignorance and innocencye, but God knoweth untrewly, and so hath syns most manifestly been proved. I proclaimed the sons rebels and traytors, and committed, led away, and still detayned the father; I planted there two worthie and sufficient gentlemen, namely Thomas Le Strange and Captain Collier, with a garrison of 250 men, who valiantly did their devoyre as well in offending the rebels as in defending the subjects. I sent for the Earl's followers to come to Gallway, as well English as Irish, whose names I have forgotten, saving one Mackuge and Mackremmon.

There came to me also a most famous femynyne sea captain, called Grany I'Malley,¹⁰³ and offred her services unto me, whersoever I would command her, with three galleys and two hundred fyghting men, either in Ireland or Scotland. She brought with her her husband, for she was as well by sea as by land more than master's mate with him. He was of the nether Burkes, and now as I hear Mack William Euter, and called by nickname, Richard in Iron.¹⁰⁴ This was a notorious woman in all the coast of Ireland: this woman did Sir Philip Sydney see, and speak with; he can more at large inform you of her.

Here heard we first of the extreame and hopelesse sickness of the Earl of Essex, by whom Sir Philip being often most lovingly and earnestly wished and written for, he with all the speed he could make went to him, but found him dead before his coming, in the castle at Dublin.

From thence I marched with horsemen and footmen in prosecution of the rebels, but overtake them I could not; divers castles I wonn from their partie takers, and with a longe and paynfull jorney at the last I came to a strong castell called Castell Barry, the which I beseged, for held it was and wrongfully from MackWilliam Euter, then being in the camp with me. In the night the rebels sett the castell on fyre and stale away in the smoke; the castell I delivered to MackWilliam Euter. And divers others of either race aforesaid would not come at me; to those that came I manifested the rebellion of the sonnes of their landlord, and detected his disloyaltie as well as I could, specially being descended of so noble an English syrname as he and some of them were; they seemed all to be sorie for it, and promised and swore loyaltie, and some of them performed it.

And so departing, leading the Earl with me, leaving the town and castle of Balie Logh Reagh well stuffed with men and munition, and fortified more than needed against any Irishmen, and victualled so farre above ordynary for the owner, as it might well appeare that it was for an extra-

ordinary and unlawful extent; I tooke, before I went, his castles of Clare and Balieslough, the one being within six miles of Galway, the other within twelve myles of Alone, the uttermost confynes of his country. I garrisoned them with soldiers, and left them furnished, and at the commandment of the two gentlemen before named. These gentlemen did sundry notable exploits against the rebels worthie comendation and memorie.

I caused a bridge to be begonn at that tyme over the great ryver of Sowke, hard by the castle of Balislogh, which synce was perfected by the worthie soldier, counsellor, and colonel, Sir Nicholas Malby, who fynished my worke, and a good worke, for after I had settled him in that province, I had no cause to care for that province, as it well proved by the valliant overthrowes of the rebels, polletique pacification, large and great inhabitations, rents and services revived, and newlie erected and still continued, out of the which he receveth his entertainment to his contentation, which never was before my government; and thus I left that province of Conaght. To make short, having been too tedious with you, under the government of this good knight Sir Nicholas Malby, who if he had continued longer in the charge of Munster, the crowne of England had not spent so much, nor the good subjects of Ireland suffred so much, as synce the withdrawing him from that place they have; you know this, Sir, peradventure better than I.

(To be concluded.)

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES TO SIR HENRY SIDNEY'S MEMOIR.

⁸⁵ *Sorley Boy*.—Somhairle Buoy, the man to whose extraordinary vigour the success of the settlement of the McDonnells in Antrim is mainly due, was the youngest son of Alexander, the exiled Lord of the Isles, and appears to have been elected chief of the Irish Scots upon the death of his senior brother, Alexander Oge, whose son, anno 1575, he detained as a hostage in Rathlin.—[*Devereux's Lives*.] Two years previously he obtained a charter of denizenization. [Archdall.] Sidney wrote, in 1575, that the Scots were now governed by this chieftain, who is "very hawtie and proud by reason of his late victories over our men." Immediately after the viceroy landed in Ireland.—"For my *bien venu*," says he, "to welcome me into the country, Sorley Boy, with his companie came to Knockfergus, there to make the prey of the town, and gave so proud an assault as they slew Capten Baker, and his lieutenant, and 45 of his band, besides townsmen and others." Carrickfergus was in such danger that the viceroy determined to march thither; and he lamented the insufficiency of his force to banish or even daunt the Scots—"now grown so proud." He described Clondeboy as "utterly disinhabited," owing to the recent war against Lord Essex's enterprise; and the important town of Carrickfergus as utterly decayed and impoverished.

He considered that, although Sorley Buoy was in pos-

session of the Glynnns, the right lay properly by descent in the son of his elder brother James, whose widow, lady Agnes O'Neill, solicited that the country should be granted to her second son, Donnell Gorme. But it was not until the 18th Sept 1584, that Sir John Perrott, having marched into the extreme north to expel Sorley Buoy from the Route, whilst in camp near Dunluce, entered into articles with "Donell Gorme McConald," promising him denizenization and a grant of "so much of the Glynnns as were the lands of Mysset, alias Byssett." [Hardiman's *Minstrelsy*, I. 174.] By Marshal Bagnal's account, Perrott succeeded in temporarily banishing the Scots. But Donnell Gorme was slain in Connaught in 1586; and thereupon the queen determined to lease the Glynnns to his brother, Angus, Lord of Cantire, and to Sorley Buoy, who appears to have again become the sole lord, having long and bravely, from 1560, if not earlier, maintained his hold, notwithstanding the claims and hostility of the senior lines of his house, the frequent attacks of O'Neill, and the power of the crown.

⁸⁶ *Route*.—A singular instance of clansmen discarding their *cean-cine*, and giving the lordship and seigniorial rights of their country to an alien but great chief, occurred in this district; the "freeholders" of which, finding their chieftain a man "feeble both of witt and force," unable to defend them, and they being "desirous to be pro-

ted and shielded by one mightier in power and policy, contented themselves" (to quote Sydney's words to the Lords of the Council) "to embrace the Scot"—Sorley Buoy—whose enjoyment of the country was so complete that he laid claim to have a grant of it; a request the viceroy desired should be flatly denied him, and at the same time (1575) settled, as in the text, and as he informed the council, "the issue of the late proprietaries, men able, with a little help, to keep the Scots out of it, or at least for being much better by it." McDonnell, however, continued to hold the territory by the strong hand;—and, in 1584, hearing that the council had, as the *Four Masters* state, ordered L. J. Perrott to "restore the Route to its rightful inheritors, and banish himself to his own original patrimony in Scotland," sent in haste for large reinforcements from his native country. The McLeans and other Western Scots came over in such force on this summons that it was considered their invasion might lead to a breach between the courts of London and Edinburgh; and an envoy was sent by the king of Scotland to clear him from being in any way chargeable with it. [S. P. O.] Sir John Perrott marched northward with a large army, chiefly composed of the "hosting" of the Pale, the loyalist lords of Munster, and many of the Irish chiefs. But McDonnell evaded him in the manner usual in Gaelic countries. Withdrawing with all his people and herds of cattle into the wide woods of Glenconkine, he temporarily quitted a district he could speedily reoccupy when the army, unable to find support, should retire. After a campaign of but ten days in the Route, the viceroy, finding he could accomplish little with a force of which its numbers were an evil, retreated; leaving, however, thirteen companies of regulars on billet, for the purpose of reducing Sorley Buoy. On his return he forwarded a plan to government for maintaining 1,100 good soldiers in the heart of Ulster. By the end of October these few companies of red soldiery, led by, (as Edmund Spenser styles him), "the most valiant captain," Sir John Norreys, then president of Munster, had so successfully assaulted the fugitive chieftain and his forces, that the viceroy proudly announced to the Privy Council that—"Sorley, who was lord over 50,000 cows, has but 1,500 to give him milk." [S. P. O.] He had lost that which formed the principal commissariat of a clan when in defensive rebellion. But this chieftain seems also to have carried war over sea by conveying so cumbersome a cargo as a vast herd of cattle with his troops. At least so it may be conjectured from the Quixotic proposition the Earl of Antrim made to Strafford in 1638, to break the "small black cloud" (to quote Clarendon) that had gathered in Scotland, by transporting 8,000 men into the Isles "with 10,000 live cows to furnish them with milk; which the Earl," as the amused lord lieutenant says, "affirmed had been his grandfather (Tyrone's) play." The insertion "Tyrone's" is an evident mistake of Strafford's. The Earl possibly had a tradition that the renowned Sorley Buoy, who was his grandfather, which Tyrone was not, had, on the occasion of some warlike insular expedition, carried with him a large herd of cattle, to ensure support by them, whether alive or dead, for his followers, in islands whence all provisions might have previously been removed.

The Route was soon recovered by Sorley Buoy, who,

before 1506, as stated by Marshal Bagenal, had driven the rightful chieftain into a corner of the territory, where he was supported by Turlough Luineach.

⁸⁷ This last quality of punctual payment was no doubt an admirable trait in the character of this or any Irish lord; but it would puzzle all but an antiquarian to discern any merit in his permitting his tenants to carry their produce to a good market. However, such was the tyranny of the nobles at this time, that they would not suffer their vassals to sell in other towns than their own. On this topic refer to the recent paper in this Journal on "Ancient Irish Income."

⁸⁸ *Raghlins*.—Lord Essex describes the expedition made in July, 1575, for the capture of this island, in which "a castle of very great strength" was taken by Captain Norreys, and garrisoned, Essex being of opinion that 100 men kept there, whereof sixty should remain on the island and the rest be employed at sea, would do more service against the Scots and Irish than 300 men elsewhere in the north. But in October, Sidney withdrew the forty soldiers who had been placed there, and who declared that, for a full month before they came away, they had been compelled to kill and feed on their horses. This rugged island is chiefly remarkable as having been the place to which Robert Bruce fled in the year 1306, when his patriotic resistance to English usurpation made him a proscribed man. It was then partly owned by Sir Hugh, Lord Bissett, who forfeited his estates for his adhesion to the Bruces on their subsequent invasion of Ireland. Possibly its lord, when—

"The rebellious Scottish crew,
Who to Rath-Erin's shelter drew
With Carrick's outlawed chief"—

were under his protection, may have given their illustrious leader that idea of carrying war into English dominions in Ireland, which the Bruces afterwards put into execution. John Bissett went over to Scotland prior to the invasion of Edward Bruce, and returned with the invaders, [*Grace*], so that he acted the most prominently of all the Ulster English who took part with the Scots. The Byssetts are stated [see *Journal*, vol. iii. page 158] to have come to Ireland from Scotland; so that they may have had a divided allegiance, or perhaps have been considered intruders by the Earl of Ulster, whose feudal yoke they appear to have desired to throw off. Yet it seems, by page 105, and vol. ii., 155, that their settlement was earlier than that described at page 158. If, as also stated there, McMartin as well as McEoin sprang from this race, they abandoned their Norman name for two Gaelic titles; having broken into septs, as did the Bourkes of Connaught. But in a note, *sub anno* 1321, to the *Four Masters*, it is stated that the clan Martin was a sept of the O'Neills of Tyrone. O'Martin was bishop of Clogher in 1431. Castle-Martin, near Cushendall, probably took its name from this Gaelic rather than Norman family, who appear, like the Byssetts, to have been virtually extirpated in the 16th century. In 1540, O'Neill, when making overtures to become a feudal subject, wrote to Henry VIII. asking a grant either for himself or one of his sons of certain barren lands and a deserted castle near the sea side, "que vulgariter Hyer Lacc O'Martin nuncupatur"—(query *Iar lucht O'Martin*, the western people descended from Martin?)—and promised, if this boon was conceded, to be prepared to serve the crown as

his predecessors had anciently been used to do. Recurring to the text,—the period Sorley-Buoy stated as that from which the McDonnells had occupied this island, (circa 1416,) coincides with Fribis' statement [*F.M.*, p. 1894.] as to the time of their first settlement in the Glynns.

An order had been made in 1660 to admit him to be tenant of the lands he claimed by inheritance. [*D. Curiosa Hist.*, I., 3.] He had an "apparent title" to the Glynns, as acknowledged by Sidney at this date, who added, showing how completely the Byssetts were extirpated:—"I knowe no man of this country's birth to claim it, or care for it, but the surname of the Scots; therefore I wish they had it, yielding a convenient rent and service."

⁸⁹ Here is a confession of that which was attempted to be denied to the Irish, that Essex ambitiously contemplated the reduction and colonization of the entire North, founded on the act of O'Neill's forfeiture, and that he hoped to be created Earl of Ulster.

It must, however, be recollected that this cherishing of dissension between two dangerous chieftains was the easiest mode of weakening them, and it served to keep alive those feuds which prevented a general combination, a phenomenon hardly ever observed in Ireland. Nor is it to be forgotten that tanistry was even more fruitful in producing discord among clans.

⁹⁰ *Turlough Luineach O'Neill*.—It was often impossible for a viceroy of Ireland to prevail on such an independent chieftain as O'Neill to give him a meeting; for governors occasionally had not been scrupulous in taking advantage of the opportunity, by seizing the person of the too confiding chief; or, at least,—and it amounted to the same thing,—the Irish believed they had not been so. There are frequent historic notices that such lords as McCarthy More, McWilliam Eughter, &c., had never been known "to repair to any governor." Even after peace had been concluded with Shane O'Neill by the Earl of Essex, this wary rebel would not trust himself in Dublin. [See vol. II., 218.] Long after the apprehension and decapitation of the accomplished Thomas of Desmond, the successors of that well-beloved nobleman claimed and acted upon their privilege of not "coming in to" any governor, unless they thought fit.

Sir Henry Sidney, in whom great confidence was reposed by the Irish leaders, declares in one of his despatches that he could have induced Turlough Luineach to come up to the seat of government by means of a grant of pardon, and the security of a "protection"—guarantees that would also, the viceroy believed, have brought in Shane O'Neill "when he was," says Sidney, "in the height of his pride." It had been the honourable boast of Sir Anthony St. Leger that, during his government, mighty potentates of the Gaelic provinces, whom 10,000 men could not reduce to obedience, freely repaired to the castle, when summoned by a simple letter.

Sir Walter Scott's edition of Lord Somers's Tracts contains a curious engraved representation of a meeting between Sidney and Turlough Luineach. The forces of the state are depicted encamped in tents in the open country. Sidney, seated in the viceregal pavilion, is receiving the submission of the northern *ardrigh* and his *oirrights*, who are on their knees. "O'Kneel" was then an apt title; as, no doubt, the viceroy's jester said! The figures of all in that singular scene are largely and accurately drawn, manifestly from a sketch taken on the

spot. The original engraving is in the *Image of Ireland*, written in 1678, by John Derrick, a servant of Sidney's, who accompanied his master in his Ulster expeditions; and who, besides describing the wilder Irish in quaint doggerel verse, pourtrayed both the Gaelic people and English army of the day in drawings, which, though not daguerreotypes, seem tolerably exact; and which we hope to see re-engraved for this Journal.

Another interview with the great O'Neill was the subject of the pencil of Captain Barnaby Gooche, who, 2nd April, 1574, sent the secretary of state a drawing of a meeting between the Earl of Essex and this chieftain;—on occasion of which "parley," as the earl terms it, he was guarded by 300 soldiers. [*Devereux's Lives*.] The engraving in Derrick is entitled "The commying in of Thyrlaghe Leonaghe, the great Oneale of Ireland, with the effect of his submission to the Rt. Hon. Sir H. Sidney;" and probably was that held on the Bann side in 1568, when the new chief had "grown proud and insolent," and demanded that all the ancient *oirrights* in Ulster should be his subjects.

In November, 1575, the viceroy wrote to the lords of the council—"At my return to Armagh, T. O'Neill's wife," (Lady Agnes Campbell, *née* McDonnell,) "came unto me; she is one very well spoken, of great modesty, good nurture, parentage, and disposition; she was aunt to the Earl of Argyll that last was, and to him that now is; and a great desire she hath to have her husband live like a good subject, and to have him nobilitated. The next day he came himself, singly, without pledge, promise, or hostage." Sidney then advised that this chieftain should be created Earl of Clan O'Neill, but *only for life*, a creation befitting a mere life occupant of a chieftaincy, and for which there were precedents. The lord deputy, at the same time, recommended that this chief's son should be created a territorial baron; in the political hope that when "O'Neill" had been deprived of his *ardrigh* power, his family would soon lapse into mere feudal peers. The viceroy reiterated this "special request" in the ensuing year. In January, 1577, on proceeding to Newry for the express purpose of conferring with the Milesian prince of the north, Sidney was balked of the expected meeting by Lady Agnes, who would not permit O'Neill to speak with him, lest he should accede to some proposal to repel the Scots, whom she hoped would in course of time effect a firm settlement in Antrim; and of whom she expected that her younger sons, by the late Lord of the Isles, would become the established chiefs, and, as she phrased it, "stark in Ireland." To benefit them, and serve her countrymen, were, she plainly declared, her main objects; and these designs quite outweighed her wish that "her husband should conform himself like a subject, and be ennobled;" since she now desired him to maintain his independency, and to retain a considerable band of Scots in pay, as he afterwards generally did, to the number of between two and three thousand. Sir George Carew states [MS. 636] that Turlough "refused and despised" a proffered peerage. The refusal, therefore, was not, as Sidney says in the text, on the part of the crown to ennoble this rude chief, but on his to accept a nobilitation that was merely for his own life, without inheritance to his son! To this subject we may revert at some future opportunity.

⁹¹ The Scots were in possession of the Glynns and the Route, under the sway of Sorley Buoy Mac Donnell, who

had usurped the rule of the latter district from the last captain of the Macgwilliams, a dissolute fellow, with neither sense to hold, nor force to defend, his country. The lord deputy, however, repossessed the rightful owner. Sidney acknowledges, in his letter to the lords of the council, the title of the Scotts to the Glynn; and recommends Lady Agnes O'Neill's request of a grant to her second son, in preference to leaving the country with the uncle, a usurper—*more Hibernico*.

⁹² *O'Carroll*.—In this year Sidney granted the clan territory of Ely O'Carroll to Sir William O'Carroll, and made his sons, who were illegitimate, heirs of the land in primogeniture order. The story of their feuds for the succession, as related by the *Four Masters* and Sir Geo. Carew, shows that the substitution of inheritance for election did not at once extinguish those terrible methods by which chieftaincy had too often been obtained. Sir George states [*Harl. M.S.* 1425] that O'Carroll entailed his estate first on his son John, secondly on Callogh, and thirdly on Mulrony, son of his son Teige; and that Sir William "was at last slain by the practise of his sons." The annalists say he was killed by some of the O'Connors, and that he was succeeded by his son, John *Flasnaigh*, John "of the wilderness," who, according to Carew, had "plotted the death of his father, and was himself slain by the practise of his brother Callogh." The annalists describe this John as having been slain by his nephew, Mulrony, the youngest heir, who was then put to death by Calvagh (Charles). This (Sir) Charles O'Carroll was the rightful heir to his brother, and, as he had become chief, his act, probably, was rather execrable than criminal; for it must be recollected that chieftains were the sole officers of justice within their territories.

⁹³ *Palatinates*.—Laying aside Sidney's prejudice against the Earl of Ormond, there is no question but that the palatinates of Tipperary and Kerry, with their separate jurisdictions, immunities, and privileges, were productive of the worst effects in harbouring thieves, outlaws, and rebels. It is surprising that they were not abolished by parliament.

⁹⁴ *Lord Poer*.—Sidney, in a letter to the Privy Council, dated 1575, gives the following account of Lord Power, which, with respect to the government of his territory, is in very creditable contrast to the statement as to Decies:—

"The day I departed from Waterforde, I lodged that night at Coragmore, the house that Lord Power is Baron of; where I was so fled, and (with souch plenty and good order entertained) as addinge to it the quiet of all the cuntry adioyninge, by the people called Power's Cuntry, (for that that surname hath bene since the begininge of Englishe men's plantinge inhabitaunts there,) it may be well compared with the best ordered cuntry in the English pale; whereby a manifest and most certain proffe may be conceived what benefitt riseth both to the Prince, meane Lorde, and inferior subjecte, by suppressing of Coyne and Lyverie; for nowe they are both willing and able to beare and pay any reasonable subsidie towards the findinge and entertainment of soldiours, and Cyvill Ministers of the Lawes, that I will impose upon them. And the Lord of the Cuntry, though he be in scope of ground a farre lesse territorie than his neighbor is, yet he lyveth in showe farre more honorably and plentifullye than he or any other, what-

soever he be, of his callinge, that lyveth in that province. And al be it the soyle, for the most parte, of itselfe, is very barren; yet there is not any gentleman or freeholder in that cuntry, but may make more of an Acre of Lande there than they have of three in the Countie of Kilkenny, the next county confininge on the one syde, (where the soyle is very good,) or in the Decies, the Lordship next adioyninge on the other side; and this was openly spoken before me, and affirmed by credible personnes, having lande in bothe: and this was yielded for the reason, for that they suffer no idle men in the one, and are oppressed with them in the other. The next Cuntry adioyninge to this is the Decies, whereof Sir James Fitz Gerrald is chiefe Lord; his brother was Viscount of the same, who belinge the first created, and dyenge without lawfull issue male, his lands (though not his title) descended to this Gentleman, who is one of bad government; and so it well appeareth: for, beinge left by his brother, and other freinds, verie ritche, is since moche spent, and almost no better than a bankrupt, his landes beinge verie great, I am sure in quantitie fower tymes as moche as my Lord Power's is; and yet made so wast, as it is not habile to finde competent foode for a meane famelye, in good order: yet are there harbored and lyve more idle vagabondes, than good Cattle breed."—*Collins's Letters and Memorials of State*, p. 90.

⁹⁵ *Harrie Davells*.—Was afterwards assassinated by a brother of the rebel Earl of Desmond, in Tralee castle. An error may here be noticed, (into which I fell,) in stating that Davells was murdered by his chamber door-keeper. [*Gaelic Domestic*, vol. iii., 126.] The Gaelic page was but an accessory; and the Desmond knight is said to have committed the murder with the not extraordinary object of putting himself *hors de la loi*, and thus binding himself to the rebel party.—H. F. H.

⁹⁶ *Condon* was, as the archaeologic Sidney observes, written Canton, or anciently Caunteton. Sir William C. was Lord of Eglwysrwrw in Pembrokeshire, 12 Hen. II., and, according to a MS. in the possession of the Earl of Cawdor, "born a Norman." Sir Raymond C. accompanied the first invaders from that country to Ireland. His descendants owned the barony in the County Cork still known as "Condon's." This Condon of the text was attainted in the same year, 1575, and his "great landes" forfeited. [*Collins*.] In 1605, a petition against the proceedings of Arthur Hyde, ancestor of the Castle Hyde family, was presented to the secretary of state by David Condon, who described himself as "chief of his sept, of as noble a house of English race as most in Ireland, and by birth Baron of Ballyderrowen." The old Lords Condon had frequently been summoned as barons to parliament. The petitioner added that his ancestors for 500 years had never matched but with earls or barons. His case arose from that of Patrick Condon, whose attainder Sidney mentions, and who had received a pardon from that viceroy. Hyde had falsely, as is alleged, accused him of being out with James Fitz-Maurice; and he was dispossessed consequent on his attainder, on which, in a fury, he joined Desmond.

⁹⁷ *The McSwynes* of Munster were a sept of hereditary galloglasses, whose profession being war, Sidney styles them "a brood not a little perilous to the province." [*Collins*, I., 93.] Sir George Carew [*MS.*, 635.] gives this account of "the McSwyne galloglas of Carbery in

County Corke, called "Slought Moylemurry *backagh*."—"Bryan McSwyne was hired by Finin McCarty *reaghe* to serve him in Carbery, from Tirconnell, in which they still remain, living upon bonaght, (without inheritance) and other allowances, being kept by the McCarties as mercenary followers for their defence.

"Bryan *ballagh* McSwyne and Edmond McSwyne of the other sept, (descended from Donnogh McSwyne, who was hired by another of the McCarties,) did in the tyme of the last government of Sir Henry Sidney, fight a combat at Cork, but were not permitted to kill one another; the cause of the combat was upon a contention whether of them was the better sept, either pretending his own to be the best. These septs have been ever in mortall malice, so much as whensoever any of them did meet they did assuredly fight; in a short time they grew to be very great nations, and many great slaughters have been committed on eche other. The cause of their insatiate malice is that either sept doth thinke themselves of the better descent than the other."

The date of the importation of these mercenaries into Carbery, the chief who hired them having lived in 1504, and some other evidence, seem to show that galloglasses were not retained by the Gaelic lords until about the 14th and 15th centuries, when the increasing wealth of the Irish clans enabled them to make head against the English. The Mac Sheehys did not become galloglasses to the Earls of Desmond until 1420, [*F.M.*] a date that serves to verify Finglas's statement as to the recentness of the rise of those earls to power, which resulted from their retaining a body of these troops. In the last earl's time as many as 1,360 of these armed police used to be maintained in the shire of Cork. [*S.P.O.*, Dec., 1589.] From the circumstance that the higher Anglo-Irish nobility retained bands of the McSwynes as "constables," it is probable that Spenser was correct in stating that the first galloglasses were English servitors; and it may have been that the first Norman barons employed their services because they, like themselves, were of Scandinavian, Danish, and Anglican origin. "Sweyn" signifies a servant or "swain;" so that Mac Sweyn was the son of a servant; and even so late as 1537 it was stated that the greater number of galloglasses were still slaves. [*S.P.*, II., 448.] But as the Mac Swynes came from Insi-Gall or the Hebrides, where their name is still common, the first servitors may have been so to the Celtic kings of the Western Isles. Other principal septs of the same profession were the Mac Donnells, a branch of the Hebridian kings or Lords of the Isles themselves; the McCabes, a race of Danish origin, according to Furbis, and hereditary foreign servants, (*galloglaich*.) to the O'Rourkes and O'Reillys; and a sept of the fierce McLeans of Cantire.

These brave mercenaries were to the Irish chiefs what the Swiss and Scottish archers, in the pay of the Kings of France, were to those monarchs—faithful soldiers and guards. During peace they were a species of armed constabulary, and were employed in assisting in the collection of tribute. Of their undaunted valour in battle there are many accounts.

⁹⁸ A letter addressed by Sidney at this time to the lords of the council in England exhibits the fatal consequences, and miserable results, of this "counterpoising" system, based on the Machiavellian policy "*divide et impera*." He writes that he entered Thomond attended by the earl of

that country, with Sir Donald O'Brien, Teige Mac Murreough, Teige Mac Connohor, Tirlagh, the earl's brother, and Donogh Mac Murreogh; "all these are gentlemen," he observes, "of one surname called O'Brien, and yet no one of them is friend to another; and sometimes they have been named kings of Limerick. They are the greatest doers, and only un-doers, of their owne country and neighbours, yet so neer kinsmen, as they descend of one grandfather." He was also accompanied by the two Mac Nemaras, "chiefe gentlemen of that country, which, if it were in quiet, they might lyve lyke principall knights in England." With these came the two Mac Mahons of Thomond, and O'Laghlan of Burrin, "three captains and lords of large territories;" "all these, and many more, complayning upon the O'Briens, and eche of them upon another, for the ruynes of this country. And truly in such desolation and waste it is, as, if they were not a people of more spare diett than others are, both of flesh, bread, and drink made of corn, it were not possible that a soil so wasted could sustaine them, and yet many they are not in number."

—*Sydney Letters*, fol., vol. i., p. 102.

⁹⁹ *Bishop O'Brien's Sons*.—Sir George Carew, Earl of Totness, states, in his valuable pedigrees of Irish families, [*Carew MS.*, 635, and *Harl. MS.*, i., 1425,] that "Moriertagh O'Brien, Bishop of Killalowe, married Slaney, daughter of Dermot, Lord Insequin, divorced from Tirlagh O'Brien, of Corcomroe; and had issue Tirlagh Mac Aspick," ("son of the bishop,") "lord of the barony of Ara, 1615."

¹⁰⁰ *O'Shaughnessy*.—The predecessor of this chieftain was in power at the period of the Invasion, for, in the Norman metrical history of the conquest, his name is recorded among those of the Gaelic kings who attacked Trim castle:—

"O'Sathnessy, dc Poltilethban;
Si alad le reis Moethlin,
E reis O'Borig son voysin."

The chieftain in the text appears to have been notable for his civilisation. [*See Gaelic Domestic*, Journal, vol. 3.]

¹⁰¹ *Richard, 2nd Earl of Clanricard*.—Sidney's acquaintance with the Earl probably commenced in England, where he had resided for some time. [*Ware*.] This nobleman, representative of the ancient "Mac William Uachtachs," was considered by his clansmen to have cast off Gaelicism so thoroughly that they called him *Sassenagh*; a characteristic reversed in his favourite son. When at length placed by the state in possession of the earldom, the faction descended from former chieftains still made head against him. In 1551 he wrote that upon being restored to the dominion of his country he "has caused certain gentlemen to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which is so much the greater terror to the rest, as the like execution was never seen before." [*S.P.O.*] Notwithstanding these signal punishments, the tanistic malcontents were in 1564 making strong war against this earl, whom they considered a feudal usurper. External rivalry was presently quelled. But a contest for the inheritance of the earldom subsequently broke out during his lifetime between his two sons, Ulick and John, and led them to discard feudal or English law and revert to Gaelicism in order to obtain a gaveling division of the estate. So early as 1567, L. D. Sidney reported, as a matter that presaged disturbance,—“the disorder of the earl's two sons, whom he hath by two

wives, both of whom are living, and these two young boys, in the life of their father, do strive who shall be his heir." His first marriage, impugned by John the son of the second, in the end was not considered invalid. Ulick afterwards declared that his father, instigated by the mother of his half brother, had sought means whereby the title and estates should fall to her son. [S. P. O.] The first insurrection of Lord Clanricard's sons had a palliative object. In 1571, the earl had been charged with the enormous fine of 1,000 marks for "contempt" to the newly-established English governor of Connaught. [Council Book, Add. MS., 4790.] In the ensuing year, during the holding of a high court of justice in Galway, the turbulent young nobles, his sons, fearing arraignment, secretly quitted the town, on which their father was instantly arrested. Assembling their forces, they endeavoured to rescue him. But the governor hurried him away to Dublin, and he was afterwards committed to the castle, "for not bringing in his sons." To procure his release they commenced a systematic insurrection; they demolished the castles and dwellings throughout Clanricard, to prevent them from being seized and occupied as garrisons; they burned and almost razed the walled town of Athenry, and carried on a course of havoc against all the surrounding English and their adherents. "Shane *Seamar oge*," John of the Shamrocks, a designation perhaps assumed not from the national emblem, but from a bold declaration that he and his followers would subsist on this grass, rather than submit to the English, as many a Gael had done, was the warrior name of the younger De Burgh, a man of abilities and daring, who stirred up many chieftains to rebel, and sustained his own insurrection in the most determined spirit. The arrest and incarceration of the earl seem to have been questionable acts. He was enlarged by order of the queen, and his sons were then pacified. Whether the ruinous fine laid on him had been attempted to be enforced does not appear; but a tax for the re-edification of Athenry was subsequently ordered to be raised off his country. In 1574 the old dispute between the brothers was renewed, and the warlike John prepared for battle by engaging numbers of mercenaries:—the quarrel, however, was appeased for the present, but two years afterwards broke out afresh by his "despoiling divers of his brother Ulick's followers," as stated in a despatch of the day; which adds that "thereupon there is such heart-burning betwixt them as all the water in the Shannon, without the death of one or the other, will not quench" [S. P. O.] They were soon after carried away to Dublin by Sidney as pledges for the reparation of the destruction they had committed in their revolt four years previously; but, as the Gaelic annalists record, "the heart of the viceroy melted into kindness" towards the captives, and he released them on condition that they should not cross the Shannon and pass into Clanricard until they were given permission. But these young chieftain leaders immediately repaired to the brink of their Rubicon, where they were visited by their father, and, with his connivance determining to resist the levy of the tax, crossed the river by night, and, once more in their native country, cast off their English garb, "put on their wonted Irish weed," recommenced a course of havoc, threatened to sack Galway, and destroyed the new fortifications of Athenry:—"No English churl," said they,

"should inhabit there!" Lord Clanricard, in letter dated 28th June, 1576, five days after his sons had broken out in rebellion, gives the following explanation of the cause. Having chanced, he says, to send for them to the water-side, at McLaghelane's, he conferred with them on business, and two days afterwards they crossed over, for which he is scarce able to excuse himself,—that one Robert French, a merchant of Galway, had showed them writings in which they and their men were bound to pay £6,000 for the reparation of Athenry, a sum that all Connaught would scarcely be able to make up. He adds that "the said Owley and John" were bound to answer for their men, and that he was bound in the sum of £2,000 to answer for them. For himself he declares that, never having been a money-master, unless the lord deputy will take castles and lands, which shall always be at his command, in lieu, he could not make up half a thousand pounds in money. For his sons, they are ready to give up the half of all they have in Clanricard, both horn and corn, and are willing to be ruled by the commandment of the viceroy. In the meanwhile Sidney marched with a large force in rapid pursuit; the earl was again made prisoner; and a fierce war ensued between the soldiery and the clan, that did not cease until the country was utterly exhausted, and the rebels had been driven into impenetrable fastnesses. During the succeeding protracted incarceration of the earl in the tower of London, his younger son usurped the greater and richer portion of the territory, held the son of his elder brother as a hostage, and evidently reigned as "Mac William Uachtarach;"—while Ulick, who claimed to be Lord Dunkellin, sought to secure succession to the earldom by adhering to the side of the English. In 1580, at a time when, (wrote the annalists,) the brothers were "at strife with each other, but at peace with the English," the garrison in Loughreagh was suddenly assaulted and put to the sword by John of the Shamrocks:—who immediately, in order to withstand the inevitable war this fierce act brought upon him, endeavoured to enlist his brother in the Irish cause. Many a well-armed follower doubtless supported the right of Ulick; and the brothers thought that if they joined together they might expel the enemy, and then share their father's land in amicable compromise, according to ordinary Gaelic usage. The brehons of Clanricard waited on Ulick with offers from his brother that he would cede to him the principal demesnes "in token of his seniority," surrender his hostage son, and be as obedient to him "as a junior should be to a senior;"—plainly proposing that he should become the "Mac William." These ancient law-givers of the clan then reminded him that gavel and tanistry had been the law of his forefathers ever since two great chiefs were installed in the room of the Earl of Ulster:—assured him that all the native lords, except two or three recreants who had been elevated to hereditary rank in order to abolish the native customs, were ready to join in resisting the detested English and their law;—and, entreating him to abandon the idea of promoting his interest by adhering to the Saxons, conjured him to declare himself thoroughly Irish. Lord Ulick was not proof against these offers, which, at the least, promised him the chieftaincy and half the patrimony, and which, with the subsequent proceedings of the De Burghs,—(each of whom might reasonably expect to obtain the honours of a

peer of state, and of whom the son of the eldest became an English earl, and his son, the Roman Catholic marquis of Clanricard, surpassed all his countrymen in the devotion of his loyalty.)—might be thought to show that these brothers were content, late in the 16th century, to live like primitive houseless chiefs of a pastoral wilderness! They both “rose out with one accord against the English,” and renewed their desperate work of demolishing every defensible pile in Clanricard, with the apparent design of completely reducing their territories to that state of nature which the Gaels had proved to be their best safeguard against subjugation. Most of the Irish of Connaught took part in the ensuing attacks on “the foreigners,” with the marked exception of O’Brien of Thomond, whose feudal estate and peerage were securities for his peaceable conduct. The real objects of this third offensive war were doubtless those of the preceding disturbances, viz. the release of their father, who was perishing in the Tower, and freedom from penal taxation. This they obtained first; and, in 1582, Lord Clanricard was permitted to return home, and brought a pardon for themselves. The aged lord died soon after from the effects of his captivity. The controversy as to succession to the peerage was, of course, hotly renewed; and, as the brothers had already effected an amicable division of the estate, the commissioners appointed to settle the affair advised, as the best remedy, (which the crown acquiesced in for the sake of diminishing the power of the chief of the Clan-Ricard,) that the new earl should have no more than he then held, and that his younger brother should be created baron of the territory he was to retain in Leitrim. A weighty condition was added, that if either lord rebelled, his land was to devolve on the other. [*S. P. O.* 14, *Sept.*] Their partition of the vast territory was, however, rearranged; and, in the words of the annalists, they were publicly at peace, but privately at strife. This extraordinary division of an earldom, effected as a matter of state policy, seems unwarrantable, as the right of the eldest son to succeed to the land was as complete as to the peerage. Lord Leitrim, whom the annalists praise for his good sense, noble deportment, and valour, was miserably slain in the year following by his brother, as the Friars of Donegal describe, adding their severest comments on this fratricidal act committed about “the partition of a territory.” Their record of numberless crimes that originated in similar disputes might have even drawn from them the conclusion which is our sole object in now recurring to these historical events, viz. that Celtic Irish customs of succession to property and power, in producing those internecine feuds that blacken every page of Irish annals, were the real cause why Irish kingdoms did not stand. Redmond, the son of the slain lord, was (Sir G. Carew states) reputed by government, and styled, baron of Leitrim, but became “a great captain among the rebels in Connaught, and was much esteemed by them for his witt and valour.” He was a fugitive in Spain in 1616. On succeeding to the earldom, Ulick commenced a strenuous reform of his clan and estates; set up gibbets in all the mountain passes, and “daily executed” offenders. Any cattle-lifter taken hot-foot was hung up with a quarter of the stolen beef round his neck; and whenever rent-drivers acted oppressively they were publicly flogged. [*S. P. O.* vol. 61.] Under this salutary discipline his lordship’s country “embraced ci-

vility”—the invariable first-fruit of change to feudalism. Houses and castles were built up again; and Loughreagh, the principal residence, was reconstructed by Lord Ulick; who had, as early as 1564, married the daughter of a great nobleman in England, (Fitz Allan of Arundel,) and who evidently, rather than having desired, like his brother “of the Shamrocks,” to live as a rude chief, inherited both the English disposition and the title of his father. Sir Nicholas Malby, the stern president of Connaught, wrote to secretary Walsingham in 1583, praising the “singular honesty and virtue” of the earl, and prognosticated that he would prove “an extraordinary servant to her majesty.” This nobleman served the crown most loyally during succeeding insurrections. “Clanricard has ever carried himself becoming his quality,” wrote viceroy Fitzwilliam to Lord Burleigh; adding testimony to his “valour, and honourable disposition to do good service to the Queen.” [*S. P. O.* 1589.] But when the great rebellion under Tyrone gave prospects to recusants, his allegiance wavered; and it was then that his high-minded son, afterwards “the great earl,” joined the queen’s army in order to place himself as a hostage or bridle on his father’s conduct. If a lower motive than loyalty—namely self-interest—may be ascribed as actuating his *heir* in taking this step, this resolute act was one, at least, of the good results of feudality, the superiority of which, as opposed to tanistry, the foregoing notices serve to illustrate.

¹⁰² *Mac William Iochtair*;—Sir John Bourke and not Sir Richard “in iron,” to whom Archdall mistakenly ascribes the contemporary eulogistic notices of this chieftain in Sidney’s despatches. He was grandson of “Mac William” who was slain in 1506, and had superseded Sir Richard prior to 1570. [*F. M.*] In 1566 Sidney wrote, that having sent for the Earl of Clanricard and Mac William Eughter, “upon whose factions all the intestine wars in Connaught had grown, they both repaired unto me to Dublin:”—and added:—“I made believe that McWilliam Eughter *hath never heretofore repaired to any governor*; and then praised this chief for his conformity to loyalty. In 1569 John Bourke was sheriff of Connaught. [*W. Con.* p. 235.] When in 1576 Sidney proceeded to Galway, immediately before the rebellion of the Earl of Clanricard’s sons, “Mac William Iochtair—John, son of Oliver,” as the annalists style him, came to meet the viceroy. But at the same time they style Edmond mac Ulick of Castlebar, (who was of a senior line, as grandson of Edmond, slain in 1513,) “Mac William Burke,” their usual title for the chief of the *iochtair* Burkes; which proves that there was then both a “Queen’s” and a “clan’s” Mac William. The latter joined the rebellion; on which Sidney dispossessed him of Castlebar, and banished him. The viceroy describes the loyalist chief as “very sensible; wanting the English tongue, yet understanding the Latin; a lover of quiett and civilitie; desirous to hold his lands of the queen, and suppress Irish extortion;” that is to say, to obtain a patent in hereditary right to the lands he was in temporary possession of, and to receive rent from them, instead of uncertain exactions. He then “bound himself to hold his lands of the crowne,” and received the country from the lord deputy by way of being “seneschal” over it; being knighted, “whereof he seemed very joyous;” and he requested to have an English sheriff sent down to enforce English law in his territory.

Many of the Irish chiefs at this time made a similar request; for such an officer would execute all orders of courts of law that served to confirm them as feudal landlords. Sidney, in his letter to the lords of the council, remarks on these loyal overtures of the Mayo chieftain:—"Surely, my lords, he is well won, for he is a great man. His land lieth along the west-north-west coast of this realm, wherein he hath many goodly havens, and he is a lord in territory of three times so much land as the Earl of Clanricard is." This is probably an exaggerated guess. The Earl was lord of six baronies in the shire of Galway. [*Hy-Many*, 18.] The first division of territory between the Galwegians and Mayonians must have been more equal. The latter subsequently extended themselves by expelling the Gaelic inhabitants and subjugating several subordinate Teutonic races. The lord of Mayo was able to bring a large force into the field. From one barony alone, Tirawly, 360 horse and foot rose at his command. [*Hy Fiachrach*, 455.] Yet this large district paid him but 60 marks rent; so that the muster-roll of this chief, like that of every other, was longer than his rent-roll. To diminish the one and increase the other was the important endeavour with government:—but the difficulty lay in securing a great estate to the ruling chieftain, as he was not previously hereditarily entitled by clan-law to any. This Sir John Bourke is described by the viceroy during the rebellion of Clanricard's sons against the change from territory and gavel to feudality, as "the only man of power in Connaught that hath shown himself loyal." But this loyalty weakened him with the clansmen, though it obtained him the temporary assistance of the viceroy; who by force of arms put him in possession of Castlebar, restored to him all the castles they had taken from him, and "settled him quietly in his own, with such credit and countenance as" (wrote the viceroy), "I hope he shall be able to maintain himself in spite of all his enemies that shall hereafter attempt anything against him." In 1579, the queen, in consideration that this chief had shown great forwardness in service, "embracing all civility, and showing good example to the Irish captains in their compositions," (viz. the commutation of seigniorial dues and exactions or "extortions" into fixed money rent,) and "forasmuch as he is dissented of a noble house of English race," had resolved to give him the title of an earl during his life, and to create his eldest son a baron in tail male. [*Titus B. XII.* 227.] Her majesty's gracious intention was, however, frustrated by the death, in 1580, of this good chieftain, who was called "the great," and by the non-succession of his son to power, which was re-assumed by Richard "in iron." This son, Walter, who was thus disappointed of becoming an hereditary peer, obtained the manor of Bellick in the curious manner recited in a Gaelic deed dated 1584, [*Hy-Fiachrach*, 460.] to the effect that he was to possess the larger portion of the manor for defending the right of the owners, the Barretts, in the residue. By a Latin deed of the same date, another Barrett granted him half his farms for the same valuable consideration. His son Theobald, was elected "Mac William" in 1595; but as succession by tanistry was then interdicted by government, he was attacked by the queen's forces, and compelled to quit the country. It is remarkable that while the Castlebar line of chiefs was the senior, and lost the territory by rebellion, and Sir John's son for the loyalty

of his father,—the first peerage and hereditary power was conferred on the very junior and equally rebellious race of Richard "in iron."

¹⁰³ Grana O'Mailley was daughter of Doodara O'M., "sometime chieftain of Upper Owle O'Mailley," so she herself states; and she was, at the period of the text, widow of Donell *Ichoggy* (*a'chogaidh*, "of the wars") O'Flaherty, chieftain over the barony of Ballyneinch, and also, then wife of another and greater lord, Sir Richard Bourke, nicknamed "*in iron*." Her paternal clan owned, beside a large sea-coast territory, the isles of Arran, and were "strong in galleys and seamen,"—the buccaneering leadership of which was so extraordinarily acquired by this "most famous femynyne sea-captain." Some further particulars regarding her may be found in the recent paper on "Ancient Irish Income" in this Journal.

¹⁰⁴ *Richard in iron*:—Sir Richard mac David Bourke, who is said to have received the sobriquet of an *iarrainn*, "of the iron," from constantly appearing in armour; probably from wearing a panoply of plate armour, contrary to Gaelic usage, which was, as seems by Derrick's plates and Spenser's account, to wear no more in time of peace than the quilted leather jacket the poet describes:—but this chieftain was so frequently made war on by competitors for the *census*, or headship, that he required constant personal protection. Although Sidney wrote of him in 1583 as the new Mac William Eighth, he had been chief thirty years previously, when he was defeated in battle and made prisoner by a rival faction. In 1558 he was still the "Mac William," and then engaged to support a large band of Scots "to plunder his neighbours and harass his enemies." [*F. M.*] Prior, however, to 1570, Sir John Bourke, called "the great," either deposed him or was made "Mac William" by favour of government. The annalists chronicle the death of the latter in 1580, and the mode in which he was succeeded, in these words:—"Mac William Burke (John) a munificent and very affluent man, who preferred peace to the most successful war, and who always aided the sovereign, died; and Richard an *Iarainn* installed himself in John's place, without permission of the sovereign." Two years afterwards "Iron Dick," as he was called by the English, was at war with his rivals, the senior line of Castlebar. The Four Masters close their notices of this turbulent chief by chronicling that in the ensuing year, Richard an *Iarainn*, "a plundering, warlike, unquiet, and rebellious man, who had often forced the gap of danger upon his enemies, and upon whom it was frequently forced, died; and Richard mac Oliver was installed in his place."

This successor, who is designated "Richard de Burgo, *creatus* Mac William," in a document dated 1584, [*Hy-Fiachrach*, 458], appears to have been created by Sir Richard Bingham. Tanistry and male-gavel were abolished during his chieftaincy; and the clan-lands of the Bourkes, which had hitherto been temporarily occupied without regular inheritance, were apportioned upon the principal gentlemen of their name. This important settlement was, of course, not to be effected without great jealousy. The division was made in 1585. (*Iar Con.* 331.) Although the new chieftain, who was knighted, (Sir Richard B. of Newtown,) was of a junior line, he ob-

tained a promise of the largest share of the clan-territory, subject, however, to this remarkable proviso:—

"Whereas there appeareth certain emulation or envy betwixt the above named McWilliam Eyghter and his kinsmen, whereof there are some competytors that, by reason of their byrth, being descended of McWilliams of greater fame and reputation than the said Sir Richard Bourke, thinke themselves more worthy of the English succession now devised by this composition; and others, standing upon the expectancy of succeeding his place, wisheth for the continuance of that customary name, that it shall rest in the consideration of the lord deputy for the time being, how and in what sort the above-named castles, manors, lands, seats, and signorys belonging to the name of Mac William shall be disposed or limited to the said Mac William and his said kinsmen." This seems to show that, besides proposing to confer the land appanage of the chieftaincy as an hereditary estate on the occupier of the dignity, it was not yet determined to abolish the title; and Edmond Bourke of Castlebar is expressly styled "tanist" to the then chief. But lord deputy Perrott "extinguished the name of Mac William," [*Harl. MS.* 1425.] or forbade the election of another, upon the decease of Sir Richard in this same year; so that "no person," wrote the *Four Masters*, "was elected his successor:"—they add, however, that "the Blind Abbot held his place, as he thought, in despite of the English." William, "the abbey *kiagh*," "the blind abbot," as he was called by the Irish, had, in 1584, as stated in Archdall, sworn to the queen's supremacy,

and published a recantation. He was brother of Richard *an iarainn*, and appears to have taken the title as assuming to be senior in race of the clan. In 1589 he is styled "eldest of the lower Burkes." [*Lar. Con.* 396.] His right was, however, disputed by Edmond of Castlebar, the tanist, who, "though old and bedrid, coveting the name of Mac William," (as wrote Sir G. Carew,) "which the state would not permit him to have, animated his sons and others to rebel; for which cause, being apprehended by Sir R. Byngham, and condemned by twelve men, he was executed."—*Anno* 1586, [*MS.* 635.] A famous warrior of the clan, on whose prowess their hopes so much rested in this rebellion that they gave him the name of *Fal-fo-Eirinn*, "the fence of Ireland," was also taken and executed. Three years afterwards, when insurrection broke out fiercely against the severe government of Bingham, the Blind Abbot was regularly inaugurated as Mac William. He had six sons, [*Carew MS.* 635.] who fought valiantly to support him in power. A number of competitors succeeded him and each other until the close of the century, two sometimes assuming the title at the same time; and almost all the assumers of the interdicted chieftaincy were either slain or executed. The *Four Masters* chronicle that in 1695 "the clan William Burke were at variance with each other concerning the lordship of the territory, each of the candidates thinking he himself was entitled to it." Theobald, son of Sir Richard, mentioned by Sidney, was at length, in 1627, elevated to a hereditary peerage.

(To be continued.)

SURNAMES IN THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

I. INTRODUCTION.

It is evident that if we could, in any particular district, point out the precise spots occupied by the members of certain families, we should be furnished with a key to many facts of great interest in ethnology, history, and social economics. On a physical chart, it is easy to distinguish the land which lies above a certain elevation by a contour line, or by a peculiar colour; and the depth of lakes and seas may be indicated in like manner. Why, then, should it not be possible to map out the habitations of certain persons, exhibiting their position to the eye, when they exist in a degree of density or absolute number sufficient to warrant this distinction. It has been thought that all this and much more could be done, without any unreasonable amount of trouble; and the present paper, with its illustration, is an attempt to show both the matter and the manner.

The largest official list of names connected with the County of Antrim is the Roll of its parliamentary constituency. Before the passing of the Reform Bill, such a list would have been more extended; but it may be questioned whether, on the whole, it would have contained a more perfect picture of the people by their names. The fluctuations in agriculture and commerce occasion, from time to time, a